NATIONAL REVIEW

20 Cents

May 4, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Stop-Loss Conservatives

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

A Book to Burn

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Creeping Blandness

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · JOHN ABBOT CLARK

WILLMOORE KENDALL · JAMES BURNHAM · FRANK S. MEYER

MORRIE RYSKIND · SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE · ROBERT PHELPS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Record

Rising defense costs could wipe out the Treasury surplus this year, put the government in the red and stave off any immediate tax cuts, top budget officials believe. They figure the defense bill may reach $38 billion in the year ending June 30 instead of the officially estimated $36 billion ....Per Jacobsen, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, says cuts in U.S. government expenditures are vital for a more stable world economy. The Swedish economist said it would be "unfortunate" if the U.S. foreign aid program stood in the way of tax cuts.

The Supreme Court has refused to reconsider its earlier decision upholding an indictment accusing the UAW of violating federal law when it paid for a political broadcast in Detroit in 1954.... The high court also denied a hearing to Adrian Scott, one of the "Hollywood Ten," who had been refused damages against RKO Radio Pictures by a lower court.

In an effort to speed integration, New York City plans to build 24 additional grade and junior high schools in "fringe areas." A number of these schools will be located in Brooklyn despite the fact that one Brooklyn public school is closing next fall for lack of pupils, a second has 574 vacancies, and a third is utilized at only 52 per cent .... The National Catholic Education Association, at its 54th Convention last week, voted against diluting its educational standards in order to make room for a growing number of college applicants.

Court of Public Opinion, the Alger Hiss book which Alfred Knopf brings out May 7 will get a tremendous press send-off—front-page reviews in the Sunday, May 5, book sections of the New York Times and New York Herald Tribune and the lead review in the Saturday Review.... A copy of Whittaker Chambers' Witness is offered free of charge to everyone who buys a copy of the Hiss book from The Bookmailer (Box 101, Murray Hill Station, N.Y. 16, N.Y.) at the regular retail price of $5.00.

White House mail in recent weeks has included thousands of post cards bearing the simple inscription "Boycott the Reds. Sever Diplomatic Relations Now!" The campaign is sponsored by Karl E. Brandt (2200 E. St., NW, Washington, D.C.) to demonstrate grass-roots protest against the spirit of Geneva.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR and PUBLISHER: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell — James Burnham
John Chamberlain — Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette — William S. Schlamm

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES

Priscilla L. Buckley — Frank S. Meyer
Jonathan Mitchell — Morrie Ryskind

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Geneva: Wilhelm Roepke — *Madrid*: J. Dervin
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

BUSINESS MANAGER: Theodore A. Driscoll

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

CONTENTS MAY 4, 1957 VOL. III, NO. 18

THE WEEK 415

ARTICLES

Stop-Loss Conservatives ....John Chamberlain 421
A Book to Burn .....William S. Schlamm 425

DEPARTMENTS

For the Record 414
From Washington Straight .....Sam M. Jones 420
The Third World War .....James Burnham 424
The Liberal Line .....Willmoore Kendall 428
Principles and Heresies .....Frank S. Meyer 429
The Ivory Tower .....Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. 430
To the Editor 434

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Innocence of Anthony West
John Abbot Clark 431
The Way of Chinese Art ...Suzanne La Follette 432
No Thanks .....Frances Beck 433
Reviewed in Brief .....Robert Phelps 433

POEMS

Rhymes Under the Influence of Milltown
Morrie Ryskind 427

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except second and third weeks in August, at Orange, Conn., by National Weekly, Inc.

Copyrighted 1957 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc.

Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES, Twenty cents a copy, $7.00 a year, $13.00 for two years. Foreign, $9.00 a year; Canada, $8.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed.
Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● We are as pleased as punch at the President's recommendation for a half-billion-dollar cut in foreign aid appropriations (and would have been twice as pleased had he made it a billion instead of half a billion). But if we were Mr. Dulles, or any of the other Administration spokesmen who—with the President's blessing, of course—have been telling the nation that the issue at stake in foreign aid is survival itself, we would be hopping mad. The Duke of Plaza Toro, who led his army from behind because he found it less exciting, must have been an exasperating fellow to serve under—and is, on any showing, a poor model for the American Commander-in-Chief to be imitating.

● In a full page editorial, *Life* magazine has rushed to the rescue of the President's budget. Item after item is lovingly defended. One recalls the melancholy complaint of Henry Wallace in the thirties when, overcome by the clamor against his hog-slaughtering campaign, he muttered "You'd think every one of them was somebody's pet!" Just about every one of the $71 billion is a pet to *Life's* editorial writer, and a million dollars unappropriated by Congress will mean, at *Time-Life*, a million deaths. "Sure it's big," the editorial concedes, "but it certainly isn't the sort of circus monstrosity the cartoonists are making it appear. Even if Byrd were right and the budget could be cut $6.5 billion that would be 9%. But a woman who has 9% too much fat could scarcely get a circus job as a freak." That's right. And the few drops of water it takes to drown a man don't cause the seas to swell, either.

● A rank-and-file mill worker, Donald C. Rarick, who charges a furnace at U.S. Steel's Irvin Works in McKeesport, Pa., polled more than a third of the total vote of the United Steelworkers of America in an impromptu effort to unseat David J. McDonald, who hung on to the presidency by virtue of his control over the union's election machinery. Rarick financed his campaign by passing the hat at insurgent rallies organized to protest a union convention decision to raise the dues from $3 to $5 a month and to increase McDonald's salary to $50,000 a year. At this point we haven't been able to recover our breath to face the spectacle of the mouse roaring at the cat. All we can muster by way of comment is that we thought we'd never live to see the day; and are only sorry that the mouse didn't walk off with the day.

● The reason most often adduced for an immediate ban on nuclear weapons tests is that the radioactive fallout, particularly of strontium 90, is imperilling the human race. Whether it is the Communist polemicist, a Japanese intellectual, a plain-and-simple humanitarian, the argument is the same—mankind is committing nuclear suicide. All the more relevant, then, last week's statement by Professor Willard F. Libby, the only scientific member of the Atomic Energy Commission: the fallout peril just ain't so. Dr. Libby says that tests of the strontium 90 content in the bones of people of all ages in thirteen nations and five continents as a result of U.S., Soviet and British nuclear explosions show that content to be just one ten-thousandth of the permissible (safe) dose. He adds—and for once we applaud a scientist's political statement—that annihilation by radioactive fallout is in his view a lesser risk than annihilation by a Soviet atomic blitz.

● Senator William Knowland spoke last week to the 66th Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution of the indivisibility of freedom, and of the higher moral law which has proved the bulwark of American liberty. Tracing the fumbling ineffectiveness of the United States during the Hungarian revolt, the Senator recalled Lincoln's dictum: "In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free." And yet, here we are, determined to "throw water on the embers of freedom," "to finance Communist economic and political systems so that the slaves will be more content with their masters." The slaves, Senator Knowland contends, would prefer grenades to bread.

● Sometimes life simply overwhelms Senator Ives of New York. The good Senator is worried, to put it mildly, lest the current labor rackets investigation lead to "anti-labor" legislation, such as a federal right-to-work bill. And he states his position on *that* with vehemence. "I'm against right-to-work laws. This is going too far. I'll certainly oppose any federal right-to-work legislation. Sometimes I feel like Horatius." Yes, Senator: we know the sensation well. Sometimes we feel like the bridge.

● For the past several years the admirers of Jawaharlal Nehru have been giving us hearty reassurances as to the role of the bitterly anti-American, pro-Soviet, pro-Communist Krishna Menon, who during that time has been India's roving ambassador to the world in general. A purely personal relation, they have told us. Menon is personally loyal to Nehru, smart and hard-working, so Nehru uses him as an errand boy. No political significance, of course. Two weeks ago Nehru appointed this same errand boy Minister of Defense, thereby elevating him to India's No. 2 spot, next in rank to Nehru himself (who holds the Foreign Ministry along with the premiership). We hope to hear soon from Mr. Chester Bowles how

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this appointment, which in effect designates Krishna Menon as heir apparent, is a new proof of Nehru's "fundamental sympathy with the free world."

● The leadership of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) in the Soviet Ukraine is combatting an insidious heresy that has begun to spread from the general population into its own ranks. Many young people, according to the official magazine, *The Youth of the Ukraine,* having been infected with a religious virus (dropped from American aircraft?), are visiting churches and receiving the sacraments. In Kherson, southern Ukraine, the Vice-Secretary of the Komsomol organization, one Hryhorly Savchenko, himself succumbed to the epidemic, and was joined to Valentyna Shemirova in a full-scale church wedding. The Party newspaper, *Radyanska Ukraina,* hired a local Gallup to do a survey, and came up with the conclusion that the youth was going in for church weddings because the short civil ceremony was so boring. The paper proposes to solve the problem by dressing up the civil ceremony so that it will match the church ritual in elevated and romantic appeal. For the Gospel passages *Radyanska Ukraina* suggests a section of the *Communist Manifesto;* and in place of the Epistles of Paul (which are part of the Eastern church rite), several paragraphs from Lenin's *What Is to be Done?*

● When Senator Williams of Delaware balanced up the fiscal accounts of his office for the year, he discovered he had $1,508.26 still in the kitty. The sum represented money saved on an office allowance for stationery. Hoping to set an example of economy-mindedness, the Senator offered to give the $1,508.26 back to the Federal Treasury. He found out that Secretary Humphrey would accept it, all right—but only as a gift, and therefore as taxable income. This Treasury ruling opens up a lugubrious vista: if the expense money is returned as a gift out of income, wouldn't that be tantamount to an admission that the Senator had embezzled it? The only safe thing for Senator Williams to do with the $1,508.26 is to go out and spend it for notepaper and stamps. At that, the Senator may need the excess stationery: he'll be writing a lot of letters to Secretary Humphrey if he ever hopes to get to the bottom of a strange affair.

● Lord Beveridge, who practically invented the idea that government must sop up unemployment and pay "cradle-to-grave" social security by avoiding "rigidly orthodox finance," has discovered that his pension—or "superannuation fund"—is being inflated out of existence to support the Welfare State. Says Beveridge: "I am in danger of living longer than I can afford to live." We hope we aren't unduly hard-hearted in observing that there appears to be justice in the universe after all.

● *From the New Republic, current issue.* Lead article by Professor Ernest R. May of the Department of History of Harvard entitled, "If Congress Is Going to Search History for Villains Why Not Ask the Help of Some Scholars?" Lead paragraph: "Off and on in recent years Congress has celebrated the Cherry Blossom festival by holding an investigating carnival. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1949, for instance, pilloried the Institute of Pacific Relations." Sure. But first off, Professor, Don't We Need to Find Scholars Who Know That the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Wasn't Founded Until December 1950?

Creeping Blandness

The Soviet revolution, Mr. Chester Bowles writes in an important article in the *New York Times Magazine,* has reached middle age. The direction Communism is taking, he goes on to say, is much influenced by this fact, as by the stiffness of Western resistance in Europe, the yearnings of the enslaved peoples for freedom, and the general dissipation of revolutionary zeal in a world so vastly different from that about which the prophets of Communism wrote, and dreamed.

Yes, Mr. Bowles is careful to say, the Communists remain dangerous. They are still capable of massive displays of ill temper, particularly if provoked. They aspire to colonize all of Asia and Africa; and they have the economic strength and political determination to do it, if we don't watch out. But the ultimate Western weapon, says Mr. Bowles—and of course his view is the dominant view of the leaders of the West—is time; the most valuable national quality is patience. We need to take the sting and bluster, the bellicosity and irreconcilability out of our approach to Communism. We need to give those tendencies within the Soviet orbit that work in our behalf the time to prevail.

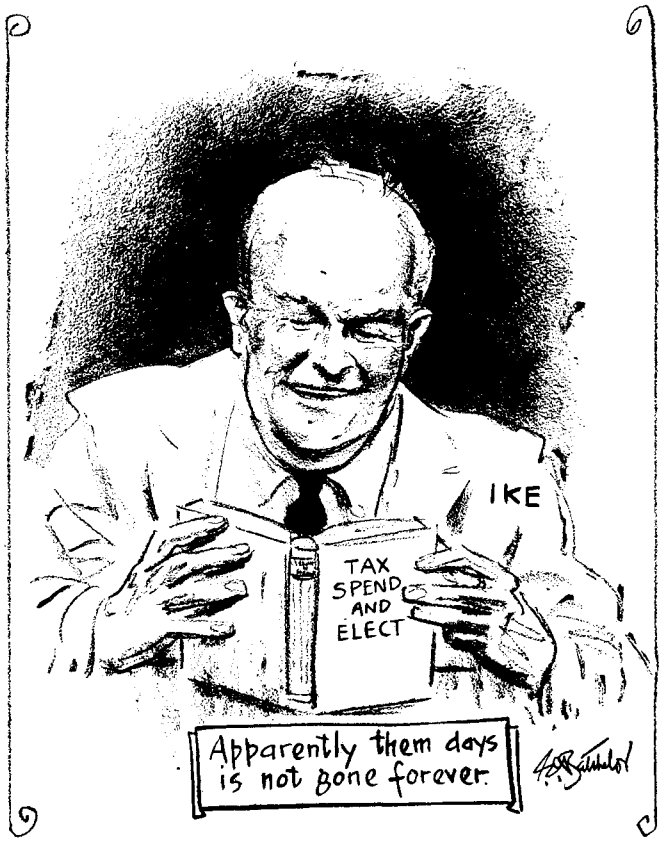
The program: as the national security permits, abandon our bases overseas. Demilitarize Europe and the Middle East. Re-establish and redouble cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the satellites. Encourage East-West trade. Recognize Red China. Step up foreign aid spending. Extend aid to Poland.

Mr. Bowles is very much in league with the future and, this being foremost among his ambitions, he can take pride in the fact—for it is a fact—that the world is going his way. The United States is coming around to the view that myriad factors combine to mitigate Communist militancy. Accordingly,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our struggle against Communism is becoming stylized. It appears, somehow, a wholly conventional contest, in which moves and countermoves, feints and sallies are exchanged with plenty of time off for meditation and relaxation. There is in the air the feel of make-believe. We seem to be meeting the Communists much as one would a weekly poker antagonist in our dealings with whom, however devotedly we might apply ourselves to winning a given hand, we never get so carried away as to lose sight of the great identity of interests that towers benevolently over the ritualistic ferocities of the poker table. We do not, in a word, lose sight of the overarching requirements of amicable coexistence in a single community. Therefore the question seldom gets posed, Are the Communists playing poker? Are they out to slit our throat?

There are a great many slit throats around, to be sure, indicating at the very least an unsettling lack of control on the part of our adversaries. The Hungarians have very little doubt about Soviet intentions; and from time to time—in the few days that followed the rape of Hungary, for instance—the entire West is graced with a brilliant insight into the Communist mind and the Communist soul. But the pull of normalcy works upon us; so that in a matter of months we are back again on the road to appeasement, having convinced ourselves—and how much more pleasant it is to live in the shadow of that certitude!—that the Communists cannot *really* be contriving to devastate this country, by nuclear war if necessary.



Thus in the past months the United States has:

re-established cultural relations with the Soviet Union;

acquiesced in the movement by our allies to step up economic trade with Iron Curtain countries;

called for United States aid to Poland;

circumvented existing legislation forbidding trade in strategic material with the enemy by ingenious devices of assorted kinds;

urged common development with the Communist world of nuclear energy for peaceful means;

abandoned almost entirely the rhetoric of liberation;

eased up on the persecution within the country of Communists and pro-Communists;

and stressed—and stressed and stressed and overstressed—our desire for peace, shrinking always from what is, in our time, a clear rhetorical duty—the need to stress our determination to remain free, and only then our desire for peace.

The revolutionists are not, on the showing of the past year, softening. We are.

Lester Pearson: Demagogue

A demagogue is one who, in disregard of truth and order, seeks to enflame mass passions to his own advantage by appeals to irrational prejudice. By his manipulation of the Norman case, Lester Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, has confirmed the judgment of those critics who for some years past have insisted that Mr. Pearson is a demagogic adept, dangerous alike to his own country and to American solidarity.

Without a milligram of objective evidence, Mr. Pearson began by linking Dr. Norman's suicide in Cairo to a U.S. Senate inquiry. Logically, this was an elementary fallacy (a *post hoc ergo propter hoc,* as the logicians classify it). Demagogically, it was shrewd and ruthless, since Mr. Pearson was thereby linking all the powerful feelings connected with suicide and death to the incipient xenophobic feelings that exist in every people, and that are especially touchy in the relation between a less and a more powerful nation. By his public utterances Mr. Pearson piled on all the "witch-hunting" stereotypes left over from the anti-McCarthy crusade. The fire, he knew, would be fanned by the brisk winds of an election year.

Then, drunk with the political fumes rising from the flames that he had kindled, Mr. Pearson pictured himself as a Canadian David. He threatened Goliath United States with dire sanctions if Congress were not put into a straitjacket.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The State Department's "provisional reply" (made April 19 by Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State) was an inadequate and unseemly document. Whatever may be the merits of the Canadian insistence that any security data from Canada must be restricted according to conditions laid down in communicating it, Mr. Murphy was needlessly abject in confining the issue to this purely technical level—on which there has never, in reality, been any dispute in any case. While preserving due respect for Canadian sensibility, it was in order for the State Department to set the record straight, and to demonstrate that no branch of the U.S. government had done more than its proper and sworn duty.

Fortunately, his own countrymen, having gained access to part of the truth suppressed and distorted by Mr. Pearson, are making their indignant corrections. We hope that Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Pearson's Prime Minister and party leader, is taking attentive note of his subordinate's irresponsible conduct.

Et Tu, Miles

God bless the military, yes, and if anyone tries to really muscle in and debilitate our armed services, we'll go after him with a tomahawk. But it *is* true that it is characteristic of the military mind, which tends to be completely absorbed with the national security, to overlook the extent to which the national security ultimately depends upon a soundly functioning economy; and, therefore, to exhibit a considerable impatience with those who suggest that economies ought to be effected in every branch of government, including the military.

To say such things smacks of *lèse majesté*, and we applaud Mr. Perry Shoemaker, president of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, for his courage in saying it, and for the diligence with which he has approached the problem of finding out just how the military could save, and save substantially. Mr. Shoemaker, who served with the Hoover Commission, delivered an address recently before the National Strategy Meeting on Economy and asked that the "conspiracy of confusion" that shields the fifty-billion-dollar defense budget from civilian scrutiny be dissipated. He enumerated a few of the economies that could be effected without weakening the nation's defenses: 1) integration of the supply corps, recruiting offices, and civil engineering departments of the three branches of the armed forces; 2) abandonment of the costly system of rotating personnel; 3) redistribution of manpower in the light of new weapons developments; 4) elimination of such agencies as the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice ("the Indian hunting season," Mr. Shoemaker observed, "is over").

No Conquering Heroes

Mrs. Geraldine Fitch, author of *Formosa Beachhead* and occasional contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, discusses in the *Saturday Evening Post* the fascinating case of General Mow and Colonel Hsiang. Mow and Hsiang served as procurement officers for the Chinese Nationalist Government from 1944 until, seven years later, they were recalled by Chiang Kai-shek and asked to explain the disappearance of seven million Nationalist dollars. Mow and Hsiang refused to go to Formosa; instead they raised an enormous stink about their victimization by Chiang and his grafters, etc., etc., and ended up the heroes of a spate of articles in the Liberal press deploring the iniquity of the Kuomintang.

Quietly, Chiang instituted suit in American courts—and other courts besides, Hsiang having in the meantime shipped his family to Red China, married his lawyer's secretary, and deposited money all over the place, including Switzerland; and Mow having taken off for Mexico with an American nightclub cutie and loads of dollars. But the wheels of justice began to turn and, now, six tedious years later, much of the money is recovered, Mow and Hsiang are legally identified as embezzlers and traitors, and the story has almost come to a close. Almost, Mrs. Fitch reminds us, because "Liberal crusaders against Free China have not admitted that they were taken in by Mow and Hsiang." Moreover, Mrs. Fitch thinks, "the odds are against their ever doing so." There's no legal machinery that can bring *that* about.

The Desert Sands Run Out

As we go to press, the situation in Jordan seems to be nearing a crisis that cannot be resolved by parliamentary combinations, or by such apostrophes to peace, justice and freedom as Secretary Dulles delivered last week to the Associated Press convention.

On the one side are anti-Western fanatics and the mob of the streets, its majority consisting of the wretched refugees from Palestine. In the minds of Egyptian, Syrian and local agitators, trained by the Communists, the mob is maneuvered as a weapon of political and civil warfare.

On the other is the young King Hussein, backed by a considerable portion of the army (the chief unit of which is the British-organized Arab Legion) and by many members of the older Bedouin tribes, traditionally loyal to Hussein's Hashemite family.

At—and inside—the Jordanian borders the pro-Soviet troops of Syria, the Western-allied troops of Iraq, the ambiguous warriors of Saudi Arabia and the maverick forces of Israel are poised to intervene, perhaps to carve up the little nation, which was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

created only a decade ago as a diplomatic afterthought.

Whether or not Jordan remains independent, the present alternative seems clear enough. Either it will be brought under the control of the mob—that is, of Egypt, Syria, and indirectly of international Communism; either that, or the King and his backers will institute an authoritarian military regime that will be able to handle the mob, smash its leaders and conduct a foreign policy that will be, if not pro-Western, at any rate not pro-Soviet.

In the past two weeks—perhaps partly because he felt himself protected by the Eisenhower doctrine from outright Soviet intervention—King Hussein has shown admirable personal courage. But it is doubtful that he can master the mob with the sole help of the loyal section of his own troops. He will need armed aid from Iraq (ruled by his cousin) and a restraining international pressure to keep Israel and Syria in bounds. But Iraqi troops cannot be expected to move, nor Hussein himself to risk neck as well as throne, unless he gets firm political support from Iraq's Baghdad Pact allies and from the NATO alliance, of which the Baghdad Pact is in reality the mideastern extension.

At a minimum, King Hussein ought to have some assurance that on the day shooting starts no United States representative in the UN will rise to move condemnation of Jordan and Iraq for "the resort to force as a means of settling disputes."

Suicide and Confession

Apropos of nothing at all, our attention was recently drawn to the classic work by Wigmore, *On Evidence*. We turned to the pages on Suicide (Section 276, s) and there, lo and behold, read that "An attempt at suicide may be construed as an attempt to flee and escape forever from the temporal consequences of one's misdeeds. That it is evidential has been usually conceded and a great advocate's speech has placed this theme among the classics of our literature."

The great advocate in question turns out to be old Daniel Webster himself. The quotation is from a summation before a jury arguing the presumptive guilt of a man who, shortly before the trial, had committed suicide:

"It is accomplished. The deed is done. He retreats, retraces his steps to the window, passes out through it as he came in, and escapes. He has done the murder. No eye has seen him; no ear has heard him. The *secret* is his own, and it is safe!

"Ah, gentlemen, that was a dreadful mistake! Such a secret can be safe nowhere. The whole creation of God has neither nook nor corner where the guilty can bestow it and say it is safe. Not to speak of that eye which glances through all disguises and beholds everything as in the splendor of noon, such secrets of guilt are never safe from detection, even by men. . . . He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the silence of his thoughts. It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicion from without begins to embarrass him and the net of circumstance to entangle him, the fatal *secret* struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed, *it will be* confessed; there is no refuge from confession but suicide—and suicide is confession."

Men May Come, Men May Go . .

". . . In 1949, [an official of Yale] advised me that a potential contributor to Yale wanted some sort of evidence 'that the place wasn't swarming with New Dealers.' Would I, then, clip out a half dozen or so of my editorials in the Yale Daily News to be forwarded to him? I did this willingly, but have since wondered to what extent my editorials, freakishly conservative, affected Mr. X's opinions about the political temperament of the Yale scene."

God and Man at Yale, by Wm. F. Buckley, Jr., 1951

"We were pleasantly surprised to learn that an editorial which appeared on this page several weeks ago is to be distributed to a considerable number of influential alumni throughout the country, courtesy of the Yale News Bureau. It concerned the union shop and the right to work. It criticized the unions. . . . Our pleasant surprise was relatively shortlived. We heard that the photostat had been sent to newspapers 'with Yale men on them, especially those of conservative bent.' . . .

". . . we definitely resent the suggestion implicit in the circular that this particular edit represents the total body of undergraduate political thinking or indeed that it circumscribes our own political philosophy. It so happens that the editorial in question represents just one single instance in which [we] crossed over into anything which could generally be described as conservative . . . we can see the image of a portly University official, harried by the notion that the 'alums think the place is overrun with a lot of pink-pallored Liberals.' The editorial . . . came like manna from heaven . . . Yale's only justification for survival is the maintenance of indisputable standards of excellence in every field, including that of ethics; to turn her fund-raising efforts into a bad parody of The Male Animal is to commit an inestimable violence on her future and her ideals."

Yale Daily News, April 12, 1957

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

USIA—and You

Mr. Arthur Larson, the President's spokesman for "New Republicanism" and the man who, incidentally, is chief of the United States Information Agency, is perturbed. The House cut $35 million out of the USIA budget and the Senate may compound the catastrophe. Senator Mike Mansfield, for instance, thinks it might be a good idea to slice another 20 or 25 million dollars from what's left of the USIA budget.

I recommend again the report on the hearings before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. (Your Congressman, or either Senator from your state, can get this report for you for free.) It has to be read to be believed.

Here are a few more samples:

Rep. Rooney of New York, chairman of the subcommittee, patiently interrogates Mr. Crouch of the State Department. "How many people do you have working on transportation?"

Answer: "I do not know if I can answer that question."

The Chairman (to a Mr. Estes, batting for USIA): "I notice an item of $430 for 43 waste-baskets at $10 each. What sort of waste-baskets are these, executive?

Answer: "They are a type of executive waste-basket, sir . . ."

Q.: "Last year you wanted $27 for these waste-baskets, did you not?"

Answer: "That is correct. . . ."

Q.: ". . . Now that you are perfectly satisfied to use $10 waste-baskets instead of $27 ones, . . . why not explore and find out whether you could not do better than $128 apiece for executive club chairs?"

On page 401, *et seq.*, we learn a little of the USIA's "recreational facilities."

Mr. Rooney: ". . . you have a request for $260,000—more than a quarter of a million dollars for recreational facilities. . . . I am wondering if this recreation could not be deferred. . . ."

Answer (Mr. Estes): "It could be, sir, but I do not think it should be."

Mr. Rooney: "We find such items as construction of a tennis court at Basra, Iraq, the construction of a hall for movies and indoor games and dancing and tennis in Rangoon, Burma—that one to the extent of $19,500—a rest center for our Moscow people, a swimming pool, two more tennis courts with flood-lights; provision for dancing and cards at Vientiane, Laos at a cost of $27,000. Is that correct?"

Answer: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Rooney: "You want to build a clubhouse in Belgrade?"

Mr. Estes: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Rooney: "You want to build another clubhouse with a swimming pool at Kabul?"

Mr. Estes: "Yes, sir, indeed, sir."

Mr. Rooney: "At Warsaw you want to provide for such outdoor activities as badminton, basketball, baseball, volleyball, and softball. . . . You want a swimming pool at Asuncion, Paraguay . . . Then we could get into water skiing, fishing and skin-diving, could we not? . . . You want a beach house at Accra on the Gold Coast . . . a swimming pool in Calcutta . . . a beach hut and cabanas at Madras . . . four tennis courts and sporting equipment at New Delhi . . . another tennis court at Kuwait . . . another swimming pool and tennis and volley ball and badminton courts at Monrovia?"

To all of which the witness answered in the affirmative.

USIA, besides providing swimming pools and tennis courts, also purveys the Voice of America. It has 1012 employees. There are vacancies in some of the USIA centers around the world (possibly hardship areas where there is a lack of facilities for polo ponies). The going wage for the lowest echelon is around $5,000 a year. But you might get $12,000 and a private swimming pool, unless Congress runs out of sympathy for dedicated career men who fight our nation's battles on the playing fields of the wide, wide world.

Radio-TV Monopoly: Chapter II

In the issue of March 23 I wrote a report, based on substantial evidence, that CBS and NBC had a hammerlock on the radio-TV industry. Devoted to an almost forgotten ethic of reporting, I telephoned one of the top executives of one of the big two, told him the essence of the story and offered space in this column to present the big networks' side of the picture. The ensuing silence has been almost audible.

The old maxim "let sleeping dogs lie" may have merit, but in this case the dogs aren't sleeping. And as for that other maxim, "barking dogs never bite," there have been many exceptions to the rule. On April 9 the National Association of Radio-TV Broadcasters met in Chicago. Coincidentally with the opening session, the Federal Communications Commission decided on an over-all investigation of all TV and FM frequencies. This not only freezes any new allocation, but it could very well strip the present opulent VHF owners of their gold-mines.

Let's look at the record. In the past three years, 76 TV stations have gone out of business. None could get help from the networks. CBS now has 56 "basic affiliates"—the stations that make up its network. NBC has 58. ABC has five. The other stations—365 non-affiliated stations, the independents—are between the hammer and the anvil. Some of them can get by on local advertising. Most of them cannot. Most of the independents and many producers of radio and TV equipment would like to see the "subscription plan" given a chance. It might break the hammerlock and give the paying customers what they want instead of what they get.

As alternatives, there are the Sherman and Clayton Acts, the Department of Justice, the FCC, and the Federal Trade Commission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stop-Loss Conservatives

Mr. Chamberlain has unearthed a "conservative" professor who, through Messrs. Arthur Larson and Gabriel Hauge, feeds ideas to the President

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Like savages kneeling to a totem, the new breed of "conservative" seldom lays down his creed without making obeisance to the powers of the contemporary Liberal Establishment. He is a man facing both ways, seeking acceptance by both old and new. A Peter Drucker pays his respects to the "codified" New Deal before telling us that the beliefs of the thirties about chronic unemployment are wholly beside the point in a day when there isn't enough labor to go around. A Clinton Rossiter genuflects twice to an image of Harold Laski before writing as a "conservative" about the powers of the Presidency. A Peter Viereck invariably begins one of his yeasty forays against the Left with a ritualistic murder of the late Bob Taft. All of this may gladden the heart of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., one of whose missions is to keep "conservatives" safely inside the Liberal corral. But to anyone who is versed in the modern science of Public Relations, which consists of stealing your enemies' vocabulary, the whole business must seem like a canny bit of semantic engineering designed to keep old "liberal" ideas alive in protective dress. If conservatism is a coming thing, the Liberals are preparing by taking it over.

Indeed, the modern breed of self-proclaimed conservative is not a harbinger of basic change. The breed consists, rather, of a whole stable of mildly collectivist Trojan Horses who have lodged in the libertarian camp. In the realm of economics, the new "conservatism" takes the form of an eclecticism that abhors value choices. The modern economic "conservative" is not afraid to buy the idea of the free market; witness Paul Samuelson's defense of it in a book that otherwise supports many Statist controls. But, with a propitiatory glance over his shoulder at Mr. Keynes, the economic "conservative" couples any purchase of freedom with a stop-loss order to sell his newly-acquired conviction if the stock should decline below a certain level.

The new economic "conservatism" is creeping into the rewritten textbooks of those who were unabashedly "liberal" in the New and Fair Deal epochs. Samuelson's book is one case in point; the text of George Leland Bach is another. But these are books designed for year-long study, and they would only repay the casual reader with exasperation. To get the flavor of the new economic "conservatism" in short compass, one had best turn to the books and articles of Professor Henry C. Wallich of Yale.

Just Flip a Coin

Wallich is an adept at the political economy of the stop-loss order. Though he is obviously impressed by the creativity that results when people rely on the workings of the liberated market, he doesn't want to commit himself wholly, at least not yet. Economics, he keeps telling himself reassuringly, is a technical matter—and when it comes to technicalities, there are many ways of skinning a cat. Production, in Wallich's estimation, is a matter of input translated into output—and so long as the physical quantities are constant it hardly matters whether the individual or the State takes charge.

In this sort of economics any way is a good way, and moral values be damned. One need merely flip a coin before choosing between the production-oriented or the consumption-oriented economy (Wallich's terms for the viable antitheses). In a production-oriented economy, private savings are high, incentives are powerful, the distribution of income is apt to be uneven. There is a prodigious generation of growth in the production-oriented economy, but along with this goes a tendency to periodic depression.

In a consumption-oriented economy, conditions are reversed. Progress comes through government stimulation or labor union agitation. The supply of savings is kept low by steeply progressive taxation. Marginal productivity no longer dictates income distribution; the State does that. Employment tends to be overfull.

From the standpoint of getting things done, Wallich doesn't seem to think it makes much practical difference which end or "orientation" one takes hold of. Supply and demand, production and consumption, balance *ex post* under either system. As he puts it, it's all a matter of "spirit." Naturally, having grown up in a consumption-oriented period, Wallich feels more at home under the Keynesian consumption-orientation assumptions.

He makes his distinction plain at the beginning of a book called *Mainsprings of the German Revival* (Yale University Press). The reason for genuflecting to the "consumption-oriented" system in a book about its opposite is obvious: he wishes to limit the significance of the remarkable story which the facts constrain him to tell. Since Germany *did* recover, and in quite marvelous fashion, by following free market principles in the main, Wallich gets caught up momentarily in enthusiasms which, when he stops to think things over, leave him aghast at his own temerity. And so the intellectual stop-loss orders go in.

Thus, while it is true that the "rapid advance of the German economy helped everybody," Wallich cannot resist adding that "the suc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cess of German policies must not cause us to lose perspective . . . those whose principles are 'the freer the better' and who reject any admixture of control as an adulteration cannot claim Germany's success as proof of their doctrine."

Why? For one thing, Germany is a "mixture of freedom and control." (Wallich doesn't think the proportion of the mixture, which greatly favors freedom, is significant.) German agriculture has enjoyed price protection. There has been tight control of rents, and government subsidies to new housing and shipbuilding. Businessmen have been permitted to keep their profits but only on condition that they plow them back into investment. While the creation of investment incentives by law might be called "planning for freedom," Wallich doesn't want us to make too much of this. "There is no way," he says "of proving that the concessions increased the total volume of savings, *government plus private. Neither can one prove that private investment was directed more effectively than public investment might have been.*" (Italics mine.)

In other words, the State might have done it all!

Semantics vs. Logic

Wallich's feeling comes out in his semantics. He speaks of the "harshness" of the economic climate in Adenauer's Germany, the "severe" inequalities of income, the troubles of "pensioners, old people, refugees and unemployed." But he is an honest and accurate observer, for he adds: "Fair shares might have overburdened the strong, and all might have sunk together. By being allowed to save their own skins first, they were put into a position where they could pull the rest of them after them. The rapid advance of the economy helped everybody . . ."

In plain English, the climate wasn't so "harsh" after all. If "all might have sunk together" in a more "equitable" system, just where does the imputation of "harshness" come home to roost?

Wallich's semantics are put to another test in his treatment of German currency reform. He says it was a "tremendous success." But "the main characteristic of the reform was its toughness . . . it made few concessions to social equity." Nevertheless, "goods reappeared in the stores, money resumed its normal function, black and gray markets reverted to a minor role, foraging trips to the country ceased, labor productivity increased. . . . The spirit of the country changed overnight. The gray, hungry, dead-looking figures wandering about the streets . . . came to life as . . . they went on a first spending spree." And all this is presented as a reform that was "tough." Better "equity" in death than life on an uneven basis for everybody!

The political economists who put Germany on the right path after the war had centered their activities during the Nazi regime at the University of Freiburg. There, despite Hitler, they had kept the idea of a "socially conscious free market economy" alive. Professor Wallich is obviously attracted to the Freiburg ideas. But he is frightened by them, too. To keep up his courage he keeps hammering home the point that the Freiburgians aren't all-out believers in *laissez faire*. True, they attack "planning" and cartels. But they are for "built-in stabilizers" and for a mildly progressive income tax.

It is quite apparent from Mr. Wallich's own text, however, that "built-in stabilizers" and income tax progression are irrelevant to the story of German revival. The German economy "took off" in spite of the remaining clutter of controls and taxation. It zoomed because people were suddenly presented with scope, with room in which to display their energies. Furthermore, the miracle happened in a narrow land which had been deprived of its eastern provinces, its savings, and much of its capital equipment. It carried the thousands of refugees along with it, absorbing them into an employment which they would certainly not have had under "planning," which would have supported them at low levels in refugee camps.

Having clearly demonstrated what freedom did in Germany, Wallich still insists that it is only one way of producing prosperity. He says: "It would be unfortunate if intensive concern" with free markets, competition, sound finances, incentive taxation and all such "qualitative factors" should "induce a belief that measures of this kind are adequate under all circumstances . . . It is in the nature of qualitative processes that their results cannot be estimated. In this they contrast with the quantitative approach emphasizing aggregate demand. Within reasonable limits the effects of a certain amount of deficit spending upon demand and output can be calculated." With his neat mind, Wallich often gives the impression that he actually prefers calculation to creativity. But he never puts his calculation to the test of comparing European systems in operation. For example, is it, or is it not, true that "planned" England and "controlled" France have done considerably worse than "unplanned" Belgium and Germany since 1948? Wallich doesn't say.

Statism in Disguise

The theory that "any way is a good way" also includes the way the Republicans began to do things in 1953. During the Eisenhower Government's first term, before the White House Liberals had been beguiled by the blandishments of a "New Republicanism," the Republicans resolutely refused to pull out the "spending" stops in the midst of an inventory recession. When the economy came back strongly without recourse to the old ways of "consumer orientation" through deficit finance, Wallich was impressed. But again, he was not sufficiently impressed to accept freedom without putting in his stop-loss order.

The stop-loss approach comes out strongly in his article, "Conservative Economic Policy," which appeared in the *Yale Review* for the autumn of 1956. The sketch of Burkean conservatism in this article is first-rate; only Russell Kirk could have done the portrait of a conservative with so deft a touch. As Wallich puts it, conservatism takes an organic view of society as something that has grown up over time and cannot be arbitrarily changed. It puts more stock in experience than in abstract reasoning. Conservatives, says Wallich, feel that the best way to develop the qualities of the individual is to leave to each man all the responsibility he can carry. "For the sake of self-reliance and the cre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ativity that flows from it, conservatives are more tolerant than liberals of surface imperfections."

All of this sounds wonderful, but when Wallich translates it into economics it comes out wishy-washy. "Self-reliance" and the "creativity that flows from it" tend to take a back seat as Wallich decides that "conservatism must accept most of the changes of the past 25 years, and must go on from there to improve them and to initiate further constructive action of its own." This is Wallich's way of saying that "conservatism" must continue to work from the baseline of the New Deal.

True, he does come out for growth by sharpening incentives. He knows that "incentives and savings" are influenced by the tax system. If the government tries to even up income distribution by means of steeply progressive taxation, it reduces savings and curtails investment incentives, thus putting a brake on growth. For the sake of expansion, we have to "accept inequality of income." Wallich puts it grudgingly when he says that "economic inequality" acquires a "functional" justification "thanks to the growth concept." "Its ultimate results benefit even those who at first seem to be the losers." Anyway, he adds with a flourish, inequality in America hardly seems pernicious when "the basic mechanics of life in the $5,000 and the $25,000 household have become very similar."

If there is such a small gap in comfortable living between the $5,000 and the $25,000 household in America, one might reasonably suppose that people could be left to their own voluntary devices in the effort to lift themselves upwards in the scale from a fairly prosperous baseline. But Wallich, putting in his stop-loss order, insists that a growing economy can afford more and more State intervention in such matters as social security coverage, medical aid, housing and education. He tries to commit the conservative to this view of things, for as Lincoln said there are things which "the people cannot do so well for themselves and which the government can do better."

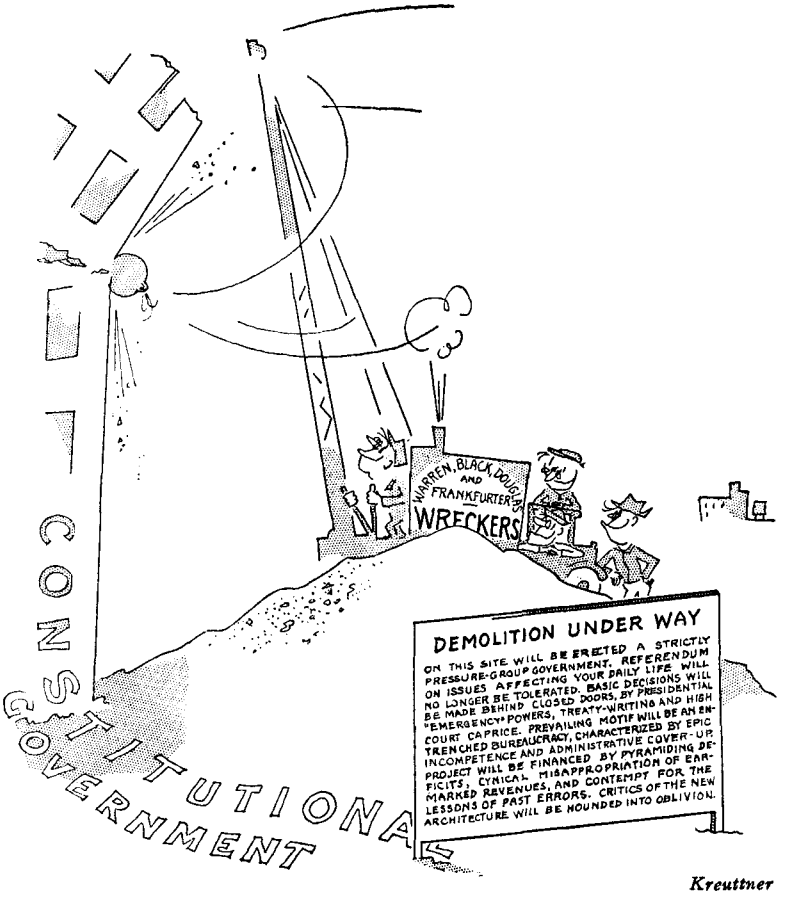
It is right here that the Trojan Horse opens up and the Statist Liberal emerges from its belly. The Liberal steps out fully armed and thrusts the sword between the ribs of a conservatism—or a libertarianism—that believes in action by voluntary groups. What Wallich is saying is that the better off people are, the more government should do for them. If that is respecting the "organic" in American society, then de Tocqueville's words about the role of voluntary association in American life might as well be forgotten. The Blue Cross medical care principle is incapable of extension, it is beyond the ingenuity of people to join voluntary building societies to provide for their housing, and private insurance companies and a pension-minded industry aren't up to figuring out ways to get people to provide for their own old age.

The Wallich view of things is important for many reasons. It is important because it has become imbedded in the thinking of such "New Republicans" as Arthur Larson and Gabriel Hauge, who accept the market economy but put in the same sort of stop-loss orders that appear in Wallich's *Yale Review* article. It helps explain the drift of the Eisenhower Government away from its 1953 philosophy and towards everything which Republicans once found abhorrent in "Trumanism."

Thus the immediate effects of the new "conservatism." But beyond that, the use of the conservative label by people like Wallich serves the coming generations of college graduates badly. It tends to take the heat of vital and needed criticism off colleges which have no wish to give equal scope in their economics departments to those who make the full case for the free market system.

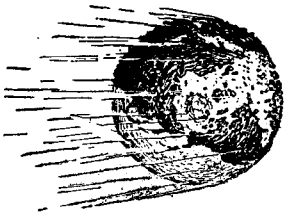
Since one can find the case for freedom imbedded in a part of Wallich's thinking, he is a distinct improvement over some of his predecessors on the faculty of a great university. But the lines should not be blurred. There is still a long way to go before "academic freedom" reaches the point where the seesaw between "left" and "right" is roughly in balance on our university economics faculties. And there is still a long way to go before economics itself can be rescued from an all-pervasive semantic smudge.

(Reprints of "Stop-Loss Conservatives" will be available at 20 cents each, 100 for $10.00)


THE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT
WARREN, BLACK, DOUGLAS AND FRANKFURTER
WRECKERS
DEMOLITION UNDER WAY
ON THIS SITE WILL BE ERECTED A STRICTLY PRESSURE-GROUP GOVERNMENT. REFERENDUM ON ISSUES AFFECTING YOUR DAILY LIFE WILL NO LONGER BE TOLERATED. BASIC DECISIONS WILL BE MADE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, BY PRESIDENTIAL "EMERGENCY" POWERS, TREATY-WRITING AND HIGH COURT CAPRICE. PREVAILING MOTIF WILL BE AN ENTRENCHED BUREAUCRACY, CHARACTERIZED BY EPIC INCOMPETENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE COVER-UP. PROJECT WILL BE FINANCED BY PYRAMIDING DEFICITS, CYNICAL MISAPPROPRIATION OF EARMARKED REVENUES, AND CONTEMPT FOR THE LESSONS OF PAST ERRORS. CRITICS OF THE NEW ARCHITECTURE WILL BE HOUNDED INTO OBLIVION.

Kreuttner

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Nuclear Facts and Pre-nuclear Ideas

Strategic deterrence, little wars, and irregular war: these three seem to be the military realities of the present. They are not, however, the objectives to which our military structure and our accepted ideas are consistently adjusted.

For example, the ground-water-air division of our military force survives primarily from organizational inertia. On strategic principles there no longer are distinctive "missions" directly and uniquely correlated with the "element" in which units fight. Hence follow wasteful duplication, continual conflict among the three services over which has the right to what, and the failure to develop a unified war plan.

Even the traditional Navy mission of "guarding the sea lanes" is today accomplished from the air as much as from the sea, with part of the air vehicles based on land—the Army's supposed element. The most relevant contemporary soldiers are airborne. Some bases for aircraft are on water, most others require the support of land and sea forces. Soldiers can no longer fight on land without help from the air. And so on.

Tools and Tasks

Viewed from the perspective of the three-fold present military reality, our military structure is a blur. By technological good luck, the chief strategic retaliatory force of the moment—long distance land-based bombers carrying nuclear weapons—happens to fall "naturally" within one of the established services, where it is organized as the Strategic Air Command of the Air Force. However, the Navy also claims an identical strategic function, fulfilled by shorter-range bombers operating from carriers. On its face, this is an absurdity. *In relation to the strategic mission*, either the carrier-based aircraft are useless, or both they and the land-based aircraft belong under the same command—though, of course, not necessarily an "air force" command.

The confusion is more general. The Army, also, conceives itself to have a —indeed, *the*—strategic mission: a point of view which it can sustain only by clinging to the strategic conceptions of World Wars One and Two. ("An air force can only fly and destroy; it takes infantry to hold, administer and rebuild," as General Willoughby put the Army concept recently in NATIONAL REVIEW.)

Each of the services, in terms of its distinctive "element," takes it upon itself to develop its own basic plan "to win the war"—a procedure that not only negates any unified plan but guarantees a maximum of fiscal waste and technical inefficiency.

As the role of missiles expands, and as they gradually replace aircraft for many purposes—including the job of carrying nuclear weapons—the structural absurdity will deepen. There are no objective criteria in terms of which missiles belong in one rather than another of the traditional services. The Army has as much "right" to consider them "artillery" as the Air Force to think of them as unpiloted aircraft; and the Navy can plausibly claim all of them launched from sea vehicles or even all that travel over water or toward waterborne targets.

Compounding Confusions

"Strategic deterrence" is thus mired in the current military structure. What about "little wars"? Who is supposed to prepare for, and fight, them? The Army, presumably (in the time left over from its preoccupation with future Napoleonic campaigns on the Eurasian continent). But an Army operating through the air. In its own planes, or planes supplied by the Air Force? And an Army supported by tactical units of the Air Force, and no doubt clamoring for additional support from elements of the SAC. The Marines would also be joining, and the Navy giving aid and comfort.

In other words: we have no military organization designed to fight "little wars." The best we can do is improvise a creaky hodgepodge out of parts of the three existing services. As for "irregular war" forces, they are scattered all over the lot, so far as they exist at all. Although these paramilitary and political (social-fission) operations may be decisive for the outcome, we lag far behind the enemy in preparing and conducting them. What we do is strewn haphazardly under the Pentagon services, the State Department, CIA, even the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture.

Let us further ask what relevant purpose is served by many elements on which we spend much time and money—the short-term, half-trained draftees, for example. Both strategic deterrence and little wars call for highly trained, elaborately equipped forces—long-termers, preferably professionals. Guerrillas, too, contrary to a common impression, are an elite force; and political warfare is a highly skilled occupation.

What is the exact purpose of the NATO ground and tactical air forces in West Germany and France? In general they are not part of the massive retaliatory apparatus, the principal strategic units of which are based on Europe's periphery or outside Europe. They are not specifically organized for little (or "brush fire") wars, as was shown by their lamentable performance when sent into Algeria and Egypt. (In any case it can hardly be thought that a war in Western Europe would be fought as a little war.) They are not genuine "mass armies," nor would it make sense for the West to base its military policy on a matching of masses.

Actually, the NATO forces, real and future and imagined, express a doctrinal amalgam of inconsistent strategic ideas, many of them out of line with the present realities. Britain's "defense reduction" and "withdrawal from the Continent," now begun, may be expected to bring a critical review of doctrine. If this shifts military policy to a more rational basis, the paradoxical net effect of Britain's material weakness may be a strengthening of the military posture of the West.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Book to Burn

It's a reference work by Oxford scholars, whose views on East-West politics have so aroused Mr. Schlamm that he welcomes a suit

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Gentility spreads over this prosperous land like a shroud, everybody likes Ike, and I haven't burnt a book in years. The only one who's lately behaved like a man is Mrs. Jean McCarthy who, bless her, rejected Madame President's invitation to tea. Otherwise, this country may any day now suffocate in a mushroom cloud of sweetness, and a person susceptible to indignation had better hide this unpleasant trait. It's like B.O., and the social penalties are terrible. A young man I know is in trouble with the Republican Club to which he belongs because he has been heard making irreverent remarks about Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; and I shall no doubt lose my franchise as an intellectual because I am about to use my critical faculties on a book. In this age of gentility, intellectuals who take ideas or books or words seriously must turn in their license. So here goes mine.

My misdemeanor is particularly objectionable as the little volume I mean to burn is being published by (British-owned) Penguin Books—the respectable dean of the pocket book business, one of the institutions which make Rhodes scholars bow three times daily in the direction of England. The book is named *A Dictionary of Politics* and its authors are thus introduced to the overawed reader:

> FLORENCE ELLIOTT is Head of the Evening Department at a College of Further Education. She read history at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, after which she worked in Lincoln as an Oxford University Extra-Mural Tutor and later in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire as Organizing Tutor for the Workers' Educational Association. She would like more time in which to bake her own bread.
>
> MICHAEL SUMMERSKILL was educated at St. Paul's School and at Merton College, Oxford, where he was awarded the University Winter Williams Law Scholarship and took degrees in law. He and his wife, Florence Elliott, live in Hertfordshire. He has practised as a barrister and now works in the City. In his spare time he cultivates his garden.

This struck me, off hand, as a serious argument against coeducation at Oxford and, furthermore, against British attempts at getting cute in book blurbs. My ingrained modesty would, in fact, have kept me from intruding on the intimacies of married British life, if *A Dictionary of Politics* were not offered, for 95 cents, to the innocent American mass market —and offered in the line of Penguin Reference Books.

Now reference books, to Americans, are next only to Scriptures. They are presumed to be as authoritative as baseball scores—unbiased, bipartisan and practically underwritten by the same Chase Manhattan Bank which supervises the probity of Mr. Hal March on "The $64,000 Question." In a country where the *World Almanac* is acceptable as documentary evidence in court, and the *New York Times* honored as the primary source of research, to offer something as a "reference book" is akin to a marriage proposal: if you don't deliver the goods, you'll be sued for breach of promise.

My point is that this *Dictionary of Politics,* in Penguin's pompous list of Reference Books (*A Dictionary of Science, A Dictionary of Geography, A Dictionary of Biology, A Dictionary of Music, A Dictionary of Psychology,* and now *A Dictionary of Politics*), is a fraud and a brazen manipulation of facts. I have been using the strongest words of opprobrium I could find simply because I wish Penguin Books or Mr. and Mrs. Summerskill would sue me. What a beautiful dissonance it would produce if the tepid indifference of the American book-reviewing trade were to be stirred up, just once, by a trial in which the culprit undertakes to prove that the American public is being had!

In preparation of this libel suit, here is some preliminary evidence, pulled from the *Dictionary of Politics* where the entries follow in alphabetical order.

> *Albania.* An independent Balkan state on the Adriatic coast. . . . Agricultural output in 1955-56 was more than twice the pre-war level. . . . The government is probably the first in Albania to establish its supremacy over every village.

How Miss Elliott (who should take more time to bake her own bread) knows so much about every Albanian village, neither she nor Mr. Summerskill tells. To report in 1957 Albania as an *independent* Balkan state was certainly a scoop, particularly as the authors do notice that the British Government "broke off diplomatic relations with Albania in 1946"—on the grounds, if I remember correctly, that it was *not* an independent state.

> *Bamboo Curtain* . . . . Those who believe that such a barrier exists allege that there is no freedom of movement in and out of China.

"Allege" is what the French call *le mot juste.* For who, in all fairness, can claim to know whether there is freedom of movement in and out of China? Certainly not the authors of *A Dictionary of Politics* who know everything else, and then some.

> *Bolshevism.* . . . In western countries the word Bolshevik is generally used in a derogatory sense, and sometimes to describe any radical.

Here Mr. and Mrs. Summerskill are a hop and skip ahead of themselves, namely at *"McCarthyism"* (see be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

low), but they have handsomely established that the Western countries make no sense, derogatory or other, when it comes to Bolshevism. But when it comes to *Capitalism* . . .

> *Capitalism.* The economic system under which the ownership of the means of production is concentrated in the hands of a class, consisting of only a minor section of society. . . . The means of production and the apparatus of distribution are controlled by private owners who run them at their discretion, driven by an urge for profit.

The authors, being British intellectuals, are driven by an urge for scientific truth. Only a member of a minor section of society could find fault with their majestically somber definition of capitalism. And this is also the sort of troublemaker who will quibble with this definition of *Collectivism*:

> *Collectivism.* A term covering all economic and political systems based on cooperation and central planning, including not only socialism proper but also looser systems such as cooperativism, corporatism, state control, and the general coordination of economic life.

Now you will notice that the Summerskills, experienced educators that they are, do not confuse you (and the issue) more than is absolutely necessary. Cantankerous members of a minor section of society might observe that there is some kind of coordination of economic life even in (if you pardon the expression) *capitalism* which therefore, according to the Summerskills, should be called *collectivism*. But never mind such obscurantists. Thanks to the Summerskills, you now will be proud to be called *collectivists*: don't *you* believe in such loose systems as cooperativism? (Which, I take it, means any system based on a division of labor.) And, speaking of coordination,

> *Cominform.* . . . set up to coordinate the activities of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, and Yugoslavia. . . .

Set up to penetrate, subvert, overthrow the governments of the West? Ah, but where are the proofs? Nobody has shown them to the Summerskills; and so they go on, with exemplary British reserve, to discuss *Communism* proper:

> *Communism* may mean either the type of society in which property is vested in the community, every individual receiving what he needs and working according to his capacity, or the revolutionary movement which seeks to achieve that type of society. . . . Under Communism, social life would be guided by the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," and class, labor, and property distinction would disappear. . . .

Now aren't they cute? It's a terribly tight package they are producing in their *Dictionary;* every word counts. But when the Summerskills get hold of something really moving (such as the epigram about "needs" and "abilities"), they are going to repeat it anyhow. Of course, this cuts down the space in which they otherwise might have dealt with such pragmatic aspects of *Communism* as forced labor, secret police, one-party state, etc. But any McCarthyite can tell you these things. The Summerskills won't bother with them in *A Dictionary of Politics* which, after all, cannot be expected to deal with *Communism* as a political reality (rather than an ideogram). Which brings us to

> *Egghead.* A derisive term used to describe the more intelligent and thoughtful members of the population. . . .

That leaves the Summerskills out. Still, I always thought that the term was derisive precisely because it implied that the most conspicuous "eggheads" of the day are *not* the more thoughtful members of the population. So this one correction alone, as can be easily seen, is worth 95 cents.

No eggheads themselves, the Summerskills rather thoughtlessly desert the strangely idealistic methods they used in defining *Communism* the moment they have to define

> *Fascism.* A nationalist, anti-Communist, and authoritarian political creed founded by Benito Mussolini in Italy in 1919 . . . advocated the abolition of free speech . . . and preached anti-semitic propaganda.

This, you will admit, is down to earth: no concern for esoteric utopian dreams, no attractive quotes from seductive original texts, no foolishness altogether. For this, after all, is *Fascism.*

> *Fifth Amendment Communist.* A term of abuse or reproach . . . used loosely to describe certain witnesses, suspected of being Communists or Communist sympathizers.

That settles it. The growing technical literature on the subject was wasted motion. *A Dictionary of Politics* has cut the controversy down to the bone, with Oxford's cool talent for semantic surgery and the the common sense of Hertfordshire.

> *Guilt by Association.* The responsibility of a person for the alleged faults of those with whom he associates or has associated in the past. In the U.S.A. persons testifying before Congressional Committees, or being considered for employment, have often been blamed in that way.

This one is grandly terrific. Note that the faults of even those with whom the persecuted friend of the Summerskills has associated are "alleged"—a kind of acquittal by association, attained by associating the guilty with one who is held guilty by association. Note also this "being considered for employment"—not just government employment in security-sensitive positions, but employment *per se.* True, the streets of the U.S. *are* crowded with those unemployed wretches who were held responsible for the alleged faults of others; but who told the Summerskills?

> *Inflation.* . . . A moderate inflation appears in practice to be necessary for full employment.

Here the Summerskills, I am sorry to say, have goofed. They are, of course, absolutely right: inflation *is* the corollary of contemporary "full employment" policies—the protests of our governors notwithstanding. But what made the Summerskills spill this? It's the only puzzle in the *Dictionary.* And I hope it will be omitted in a second printing, for it disturbs my sense of unity.

> *McCarthyism.* Intolerance of liberalism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For ideographs, who could describe the Communist dream with pristine sensitivity, it was nothing at all to penetrate the fog that has accumulated in years of heavy battle over McCarthy. It was, when all is said and done, intolerance of liberalism. The trouble is that the Summerskills had no time to define *Liberalism* (no such entry in *A Dictionary of Politics* of 328 pages—*A Dictionary of Politics*, to boot, that contains such entries as "Aga Khan," "Abu Dhabi," and "Zik"). Thus, the learned Summerskills leave it to McCarthy, an unsophisticated lawyer from darkest Wisconsin, to determine what he is intolerant of.

But a few pages later they are agile again:

> *Marxism.* . . . Marxian Socialists are those who accept the Marxist analysis of history but do not wish to plan the violent overthrow of governments.

How peculiar! There was, as far as I could see, no one in the whole orbit of *A Dictionary of Politics* prepared to say that Marxian Socialists *do* wish to plan the violent overthrow of governments. The Summerskills protest too much—or do they? In point of fact, the Communists have recently decided to be hereafter known as Marxian Socialists. And it makes of course very good sense to deny in an authoritative *Dictionary of Politics* that such Marxian Socialists wish to plan the violent overthrow of governments.

Less sense, however, is made by the entry

> *Mongolia, Outer.* An independent state, officially the Mongolian People's Republic. . . . The Mongolian People's Republic proclaimed in that year [1924] was almost entirely dependent on the USSR.

Well, when she bakes her own bread Miss Florence Elliott can't always keep her mind on Outer Mongolia, and a couple of contradictions only add zest to a *Dictionary*. But her eyes are right on the ball again when she has to define

> *Popular Front.* The collaboration of Communist, Socialist, and other political parties against Fascism.

Popular Front, you see, has nothing to do with fronting for the Communists: It's a collaboration, pure and simple. And it is against Fascism—*that's* what it is.

Yes, the Summerskills remain imperturbable in the face of Communist strategy, even when it comes to a definition of

> *Terrorist.* . . . The word is often used by the supporters of a particular regime to describe and to vilify any of its opponents who resort to acts of violence.

It is definitely none of the Summerskills' business to suggest *what* a regime should call its opponents who resort to acts of violence. (Frankly, *I* would call them "terrorists.") They have done their scholarly duty when they record their protest against the vilification of such opponents. Scholarly, too, are the Penguin authors when it comes to the *pièce de resistance* of their opus, the entry for

> *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.* . . . Since 1917 the USSR, then primarily an agricultural country, has become one of the world's foremost industrial producers. . . . In 1956 the volume of production of coal, petroleum, electricity, pig iron, and crude steel was in each case more than double that of 1940. There were also remarkable increases in agricultural production. English economists state that the annual rate of growth of the Russian economy, estimated to be six per cent, exceeds that of any non-Communist country even at the period of its maximum development.

Yes, when it comes to world powers, the Summerskills are anxious to further good relations all around by emphasizing only the very best aspects of every such nation. For instance,

> *United States of America.* . . . In some states one must pay a tax (poll-tax) to qualify for the suffrage.

And on this note I must say goodbye to the Summerskills. I hope (I repeat) to see them in court. For (I repeat) I declare their *Dictionary of Politics* to be a fraud, and a brazen manipulation of facts. I also hope to see in their company, in court, the publishers of Penguin Books whom I herewith accuse of merchandising pernicious falsehoods in the disguise of a reference book.

And now that I have at last burned a book again, I shall return, refreshed, to my regular beat—America's genteel arts and manners.

Rhymes Under the Influence of Milltown

Hall of Fame

On Reading Walter Reuther's Address to the UAW, Promising Higher Wages and a Four-Day Week without Raising the Price of a Car

To the list of history's greats:
Moses, Aaron, Noah,
Nathan Hale and Eli Yale,
Vasco de Balboa,

Winston Churchill, Robert Lee,
Edgar Allan Poe,
Eisenhower, Mischa Auer,
Marilyn Monroe,

Galileo, Faraday,
Abraham and Strauss,
Savonarola, Emile Zola,
Mighty Mickey Mouse,

Washington and Bobby Jones,
Lincoln, Martin Luther,
Cardinal Newman, Harry Truman—
Add the name of Reuther!

If you don't believe me, ask George Meany,
Ananias, Ponzi, and the late Houdini.

Progressive School: Fourth Grade

They cannot read or write or spell;
They cannot count from one to twenty.
But say UN—and they can tell
You plenty.

Not black from white, nor safe from out
They know; nor indoors from *al fresco*—
But boy! do they know all about
UNESCO.

MORRIE RYSKIND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Candidate for Quartering

"J. Robert Oppenheimer is quite right," said Medford Evans a few nights ago in a speech at Harvard, "when he insists we need more knowledge. We do indeed—and, first of all, more knowledge about Oppenheimer himself."

As Mr. Evans agrees with Oppenheimer, so this columnist agrees with Mr. Evans—and would extend the remark to cover Liberals in general. What, after all, *does* make them tick? Why (assuming *per impossibile* that there is no centrally-directed propaganda machine to tell them what to think and say) *do* they all mobilize—as one man, at the same moment—behind federal aid to education, maximum diversion of our resources into foreign aid, coexistence, any and every démarche calculated to undermine or discredit the nation's internal security system, and—to come back to where we started—the Oppenheimer appointment at Harvard? Why (assuming there *is* a centrally-directed propaganda machine) do they all obey it? And in any case how—again on that assumption—do the central directors decide what to say?

What this columnist keeps looking for is a Liberal candid enough to answer those questions. Let Oppenheimer undertake to give such a candid answer in his James lectures, and this columnist will adjourn all his objections to his Harvard appointment. Let Schlesinger or Hofstader give a course in it, and this columnist promises to enroll and attend.

Meanwhile, we must make do with such beginnings of a candid answer as are to be found in Frankel's *Case for Modern Man* and now in *Education for a New Morality* (Macmillan, $2.50), by Agnes E. Meyer (whom, by analogy with a famous nickname, we may call La Boca Chica).

As far as being a great mind is concerned, Mrs. Meyer of course doesn't get invited to dinner the same evening as Professor Frankel; but that explains—rather than raises questions about—the value of her book. Professor Frankel knows that the time is not yet for a full statement of the Liberal position in language most people can understand; Mrs. Meyer clearly does not know that: she just blurts it out, and if it is not all there, one feels fairly certain that it is because her intellectual betters have held back from her, to date, certain pages of the *Secret Summa*. As far as she goes, she *is* candid; and one only wishes we had a dozen like her.

Let us, this week, postpone examination of Mrs. Meyer's "new education" and "new morality," and fix our attention where we shall learn most about her and about those who think as she thinks. Namely, on her state of mind about science and scientists—and (for she recognizes no other competitors) about "neo-conservatives, theologians, and sectarian Christians."

First, about science (which, perversely, she does not capitalize) and the scientists. Science, Mrs. Meyer submits, has "determined" the actual conditions of contemporary life and thought. It has given us the means for abolishing poverty, disease and ignorance. It has exploded the notion of determinism (a little inconsistently perhaps since, as we have just seen, Mrs. Meyer continues to use it). It has created a situation in which human survival "depends" on our turning our backs upon the mistaken standards bequeathed to us by the past, and our moving along to "newer and higher standards" that will be "acceptable to all mankind," and will lead to the renunciation of power in human relations and of war in international relations. Above all, it has brought us to the threshold of a "new God concept," a "higher concept of divine power," and pointed us along the way to "beliefs that conform more closely to our accumulated knowledge and to the spiritual needs of today." And, finally, it has taught us that while we can never achieve "absolute truth," we *can* "live hopefully in a system of calculated probabilities"—that, in a word, the "unity of life we seek" is to be found in the law of probability.

As for the scientists, they are no longer concerned with a "mere report of facts": they alone see that the problem of our age is that of the relation of knowledge to social responsibility and (of course) social progress; they alone are "widening our spiritual horizon to a global point of view"; they alone seek to unify the world, while "nationalism, sectarian religion and unbridled industrial competition" divide it; they alone can give our political leaders "guidance" toward "peaceful evolutions." Only to the scientists, therefore, can we turn for leadership; to repudiate their leadership is to settle for a situation in which, for "lack of a clear alternative," Communist ideas will triumph. Nevertheless, we permit our current "anti-intellectualists" to "discredit them," and discourage an increase in their numbers by means of the "injustices" visited upon atomic scientists by our federal security program. And all this in sharp contrast to the USSR, which gives its scientists a freedom that will, in the long run, "undermine Communist totalitarianism."

As for the "neo-conservatives, theologians, and sectarian Christians" (and don't be taken in by that word "sectarian"; she never mentions any Christians who are not "sectarian"): They *are* the anti-intellectualists, the standpatters with respect to our "primitive heritage of superstition, tradition, and authority." They are the thinkers, "both religious or [*sic*] political," who seek to undermine our faith in human nature—some of them by asking us to "seek salvation [!] in original sin and other medieval theories [!]," others by preaching a "return to absolute principles of morality to be imposed from above [e.g., God?]"; yet others ("the warring clergy") by standing in the way of clarification of the "God concept." They are, Mrs. Meyer concludes—and never has the utter incompatibility between Liberalism and religion been brought so clearly into the open—"a menace to our country's future."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The Relativist "Re-evaluates" Evil

Nowhere are the ravages of relativism more dramatically apparent than in the effective attitude towards Communism that has been displayed by the leaders and hangers-on of the intellectual Establishment during the past few months. I emphasize *effective* attitude, for of course everybody is "against Communism."

Effective anti-Communism, however, requires an uncompromising understanding that Communism is evil, in comparison with which and against which our heritage, despite all its imperfections, is good. But the relativist philosophical miasma which penetrates every corner of the Establishment blinds the eye to the very existence of good and evil—and *a fortiori* to the conception of any historical situation as a confrontation of good and evil.

Therefore, since the present historical situation is in fact such a confrontation of good and evil, the relativist mind is totally incapable of dealing with it. Hence, the acres of trash on the subject of foreign policy which have appeared in print in every quarter since the Geneva conference. Only the morbid wit of a Swift could do justice to the intricate pseudo-erudition, the desperately complicated mumblings, beneath which the experts and the journalists bury miles deep the dire issues they pretend to be discussing.

Walter Lippmann, for example, in a recent issue of the *New Republic* fills page after weary page begging us "to try to find our bearings," conjuring us to recognize with due humility that our beliefs have no ultimate foundation, that our "picture of ourselves and of our place in the world and of our role in the history of mankind is no longer valid." In the stock image of relativist rhetoric, he urges on us the parallel of "the change from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican astronomy"—from the benighted time when we considered "the culture, the ideology of the western society" as firm and universal truth to our modern situation when we must recognize that no longer can there be any claim to universality and objectivity for our beliefs. They are only one set of culture patterns among many, and, presumably, no more valid than the others.

At least, the difference between their validity and that of the others ("of Moscow . . . Peiping, Delhi, and who knows, perhaps eventually, also Cairo") is not important enough to fight for. The "terrifying destructiveness of the hydrogen bomb," together with an enlightened Copernican understanding of the relative nature of Western and Christian values, seems to Mr. Lippmann to make President Eisenhower's "historic declaration that there is now no alternative to peace" a self-evident axiom.

The practical conclusions for American foreign policy which he draws from this axiom are what might be expected, and I do not propose to discuss them here. They are the prevalent proposals for surrender before Soviet advance that are being universally put forward by the Establishment: "evacuation of the European continent up to the Soviet border by the Red Army in the East and by the British and American Armies in the West"; "the unification of Germany" (no guarantees of what kind of Germany, of course); and a general American stance against "imperialism" and "colonialism."

Granted the premises, there is not much to be said against these proposals. If we have nothing to fight for, and are mortally terrified of fighting anyway, they are as good as any others. Compared to some other hypothetical courses, they might indeed postpone the day of final surrender and a Soviet America by a few years. But if what we are concerned with is not the date of our defeat, but the choice between the acceptance of defeat and a fight for victory, then it is not to Mr. Lippmann's immediate proposals, but to the beliefs and judgments that form his proposals that we must direct our attention.

In the end, this is a matter of intellectual and spiritual decision—of resolution, of honor, of daring, of all the other outmoded virtues that to a relativist are dangerous impulses, to be measured on some "authoritarian personality" scale. It is a matter of that devotion to truth and right that prepares a man to fight, whatever the risk, whatever the possible holocaust, against ingrained evil.

Such an attitude is a rock upon which to stand, even if in the temporal order there is danger that one may be crushed upon that rock. But Mr. Lippmann, and those who think like him, found their position upon the shifting sands of what they choose to call the realities of the times, that is, upon that which from day to day happens to be the case. Technological developments, sociological fashions, ephemeral political events—these are their realities.

The one reality they will not face is that the deep truths upon which Western civilization is founded are challenged as they have never before been challenged, by an enemy who believes in his error as we have ceased to believe in our truth, an enemy who worships his Luciferian goddess of History with an intensity that demands the total conquest of the world.

The attitude of that enemy is clearly evidenced in the bold threatenings of Khrushchev last week. If we believed in our truth as he believes in his error, our reply would be: 1) Don't worry about our giving aid to Gomulka. We have no intention of giving *any* aid to *any* Communist government, yours, or Gomulka's, or Tito's, or Mao's, or anyone else's. 2) We *will* help *anyone* who rises against your tyranny *anywhere*. 3) Since it is East Germany that seems to be worrying you right now, we put you on notice that we have learned our lesson from Hungary and that we are prepared to atone for our betrayal there. We shall do what we think necessary in the event of an East German revolution. Furthermore, if West Germans help East Germans, and you raise a finger against West Germany, we will regard your act as a *casus belli* and will reply to your aggression with all necessary force.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Professor Kendall Speaks at Harvard on Oppenheimer

(I devote the page to extracts from a statement made by Willmoore Kendall in a debate at Harvard last week on the appointment of Dr. Oppenheimer as William James Lecturer —WFB)

J. Robert Oppenheimer and his friends have made of J. Robert Oppenheimer a nationwide political issue; their purpose in building him up has been a political purpose; and we cannot permit that purpose to be hidden behind the pretense that the question is exclusively academic. Any man or institution who forwards that purpose makes himself or itself accountable for the political consequences of the action performed. And if the ultimate obligation of that man or institution is indeed to the Truth, he or it must seek to see further into those consequences than the next fellow and must, above all, not attempt to touch pitch and *not* be defiled. Let us, therefore, call things by their right names: the real stake in the Oppenheimer case is the internal security program of the government of the United States.

The appointment of Oppenheimer is at a venerable university which has long claimed, and long been accorded, primacy in the realm of the mind. The appointment, moreover, is not to lecture on nuclear physics, a field whose problems might conceivably be analyzed and illuminated by the most arrant knave, but to lecture on philosophy—including, if the spirit so moves the appointee, ethics. The mystery, then, of how the appointment can be squared with high principle becomes deeper: for it turns out to be based upon a sheer and naked presumption, unsupported even by rumor, of competence in a field to which the appointee has never pretended to make even the slenderest theoretical contribution, and in which he has conclusively demonstrated his incompetence on the practical level. And here there can be no two opinions: Dr. Oppenheimer's most fervid apologists allege for him only the excuse that he was confused and perverse—that he could not understand the clear implications of his conduct, or grasp an ethical problem so simple that our laws expect it to be grasped by Everyman. Nor has Dr. Oppenheimer, since his disgrace, given any indication that he has since penetrated to the nature of his error, much less repented of it.

If Dr. Oppenheimer was innocent of intentional treason, and if he now repents his follies, and if he sincerely reflects on the causes of his moral imbecility and the nature of his relation to his fellow men, then it is possible that his much-touted intellectual brilliance will one day enable him to make a significant contribution to philosophic thought. When and if he does that, I hope we shall all welcome it. At the present time, however, we can only pronounce the appointment as rash and imprudent—as an act that involves a willingness, unworthy of a great university, to justify today's academic honors with tomorrow's contributions to ethical thought.

Philosophy is in many ways the first and most important of the disciplines that we call the Humanities. These are the disciplines in which formal content cannot be separated from the immediate experience of human life—disciplines, therefore, in which no glib verbal dichotomy can separate intellectual distinction from personal conduct . . . Inability to perceive and understand the values of human life is an absolute bar to proficiency in these disciplines; their real subject matter *is* those values. A man understands them—or all the apparatus of erudition and technical skill he may develop becomes merely the masque of a moribund pedantry. There is, to be sure, that line of reasoning that holds that we live in a world of universal uncertainties, and that we must therefore extend universal toleration to every sort of idea and every sort of experiment in behavior. So long as Oppenheimer (and not Senator McCarthy) is the subject of controversy, we are reminded that all values are subjective and relative, that right and wrong are mere words; and that the "intellectual" is somehow absolved by the enormity of his brain from the obligation to take seriously such childish things.

Such an answer, of course, will not do. A university is the expression of a culture—and, as such, reposes in the last analysis on an act of faith. The university exists only by virtue of a faith that human beings are worthy of special attention; that the development of the human intellect is an end in itself; that the exercise of memory and reason is not a perversion of the nervous system; and that the scholar is somehow superior to the fool—all of them propositions that admit of no scientific proof; propositions that must, in fact, be maintained despite clear and cogent evidence that untroubled happiness is reserved for morons. And if we are unprepared to make these acts of faith, and recognize them as acts of faith, we should end the dreary farce that is daily performed in the lecture halls and the libraries; and having ended it, revert to a blissful state of freedom from both faith and cerebration.

But if we are prepared to assert this faith, we cannot reasonably stop here and refuse to embrace also that faith in ethical values on which the university depends for its existence. For if there be no ethical values, every man who walks through the Yard to a class—whether he go to speak or to listen—is but a mummer enacting a wildly solemn satire on human folly.

The only conceivable object of Dr. Oppenheimer's appointment, then, is to create the impression out over the land that Harvard University approves and endorses Dr. Oppenheimer's conduct. Having willed the end, one does not hesitate over the means, even if they involved causing that university to put itself forward as the patron of moral and intellectual irresponsibility.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Innocence of Anthony West

JOHN ABBOT CLARK

It was only about a year ago that Granville Hicks, with a large cheering section recruited from the serried ranks of his fellow critics and the tonier slums of Publishers' Row, lashed out at Anthony West and the *New Yorker's* book review section. Perhaps Mr. West was recalling the Hicks attack when he observed in a prefatory note to his collection of *New Yorker* reviews (*Principles & Persuasions,* Harcourt, Brace, $4.50) "that one of a modern critic's duties is to keep the sharp edge on words, and to maintain standards by occasionally exposing the commercial products that pass for contributions to our cultural inheritance to the full weight of aesthetic and ideological criticism. The mind bloats and softens on a diet of pap, and there is good reason for reminding the general reader from time to time that pap is pap and not good red meat."

Noble sentiments, nobly spoken, although H. L. Mencken would probably have snorted at their do-good tone, and would, you may be sure, have cocked a right bilious eye at such phrases as "our cultural inheritance" and "the full weight of aesthetic and ideological criticism."

As for us, we found Mr. West's No-More-Pappery crusade, and his manly refusal to apologize for the negative or "destructive" aspects of his criticisms, altogether tonic and refreshing. And when he brings the full weight of his critical principles to bear upon such diverse subjects as Winston Churchill, T. E. Lawrence, Hugh Walpole, Alfred de Vigny, and Ivy Compton-Burnett—to stop short of a catalogue—we find him persuasive as well.

We would, however, be guilty of perpetrating pap ourself if, since Mr. West is human, we failed to call attention to what we consider flaws in this collection. For one thing, the title is a bit pretentious. For another, these reviews, which stood out from the ruck of literary journalism when they first appeared, do not always stand out so compellingly when read later and all together. As "literary essays" they often fall somewhat short of what one had expected (or remembered).

Coming down to a few cases, we mildly resented Mr. West's condescension toward Dickens. We felt he was a little too hard on Maurice, and a little too easy on Graham Greene. In reviewing Gordon S. Haight's edition of the first three volumes of George Eliot's correspondence, we thought Mr. West passed up a wonderful opportunity for a real critical kill by not merely writing, "Why?", and letting it go at that.

But what really bothered us in reading *Principles & Persuasions* was what we can only call his "innocence" (and we only hope this isn't the case of an old earthen pot calling a stainless steel fryer a white enamel kettle). For instance, in reviewing Woodham-Smith's biography of Florence Nightingale, Mr. West observes that Lytton Strachey "badly underestimated her, because he was writing too close to her. *Eminent Victorians* was published . . . only eight years after her death, and before her family was ready to yield up its secrets or hers." It seems to us that Mr. West not only gives credit where credit is not due, but fails completely to understand Strachey and the nature of his art. Strachey, we suspect, would have written about Florence Nightingale exactly as he did, or he wouldn't have written about her at all. Much farther away from her, and he would have been silenced; much closer to her, and he would have been suffocated.

Another example of Mr. West's innocence is his explaining, or rather his attempt to explain away, the ghastly totalitarian nightmares of *1984* by insisting that Orwell's satire is substantially little more than an almost pathologically blown-up replica of the author's unhappy schoolboy experiences at Crossgates (as recounted in *Such, Such Were the Joys*). "Whether he knew it or not," says Mr. West, "what he did in *1984* was to send everybody in England to an enormous Crossgates to be as miserable as he had been." If Orwell had been "progressively" educated, it is altogether possible of course that he might not have written *1984.* (It's also possible that he might not have written anything at all.) But the important, the frightening thing is, not the extent to which the cruelties of Crossgates can be equated with the horrors of Oceania, but, as day follows day, the closer, ever-closer resemblance of our world to the world of Big Brother. To dismiss *1984* as a schoolboy's bellyache recollected in the author's anything but tranquil maturity is an act of sheer innocence. At certain times, pap, or even the cosmic pip, is preferable to a tranquilizer pill. And certainly the present is one of those times.

We detect innocence, too, in the following passage from Mr. West's scathing review of Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Irony of American History*: "This is a time dominated by fear, and Dr. Niebuhr seems to be expressing the scared reaction to the overconfidence of the last century. The economic unity of the world, which has created a community of interest between the nations, has been a reality for less than fifty years. Not many of its peoples are psychologically prepared to surrender parochial interests to world interests. They are not ready

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the responsibilities and duties that they will have to undertake as members of the international community."

We still detect innocence when Mr. West writes: "Turning from the architecture [of Jefferson] to the statements of political principle and to the attacks on monarchy and aristocratic power, one sees how archaic they are, too." Well, if fear—like Jefferson's—of the all-powerful state is archaism, then there isn't very much radically wrong with the world today that an upsurge of widespread archaism on a global scale wouldn't cure.

The source of the innocence which blemishes (as we, in our possibly even greater innocence, see the matter, anyway) so many of Mr. West's otherwise astute and often slashingly courageous criticisms is pretty well isolated, we believe, in the following passage from his review of William Irvine's *Apes, Angels, and Victorians*:

> Huxley believed in state education, as all liberals do, not because there is any virtue in state control as such but because he felt that an uneducated proletariat is social nitroglycerine, an unstable jelly that any shock can touch off, and he preferred civilization to anarchy. . . . For him, a morality or social ethos based on revealed religion was fundamentally unsound, because sooner or later it took one back to a universe in which the mind of a creator was the focal point. . . . Scientific method produces no evidence that will support this picture, and a great deal that is fatal to it. Huxley thought that a schizoid society drawing its morality and values from a compartment of its collective mind where faith preserved a revealed truth which scientific method demolished in another compartment was in for serious trouble. It would be better for mankind to abandon revealed truth as a basis for action and to proceed on the basis of what is ascertainable; a true morality and a system of values could be based on a dispassionate examination of man's relation with man. . . . It is possible to criticize the inconsistencies in Huxley's metaphysics, but the fortunes of the schizoid society in the present century provide reason for suspecting that the rational approach to human affairs that he based on Darwin's picture of the human place in the universe may be the only one that offers mankind any hope of happiness at all.

In closing, we shall merely observe that when Mr. West is tilting with "fake heroic statues made of plaster of Paris," or running his bright rapier through "old boards and stolen clothing," he is simply magnificent; but when we discover him tripping cockily and innocently among the slagheaps of mid- and late-Victorian positivism, he is simply depressing. If one just must be archaic, almost any century's brand of it will do to beat the nineteenth's.

To order any book reviewed in this book section, write:

THE BOOKMAILER
Box 101, Murray Hill Station
New York 16, N.Y.

Return mail service—postpaid
PAY ONLY BOOKSTORE PRICE

$.....payment enclosed

Please send me: ..... (name of book)

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(No C.O.D. orders accepted; payment MUST accompany order. N.Y. City residents add 3% tax.)

The Way of Chinese Art

The Tao of Painting, A Study of the Ritual Disposition of Chinese Painting, with a Translation of the Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan or Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting 1679-1701, by Mai Mai Sze. Bollingen Series XLIX. New York: Pantheon Books. Two Volumes. $25.00

These two large volumes, designed by the author and translator (herself a painter), are so beautiful that one touches them with trepidation. The first is a book on Chinese painting by Miss Sze, magnificently illustrated with ten plates reproducing Chinese masterpieces. Miss Sze has supplied a descriptive section on the plates, and an appendix analyzing the pictographs representing the basic terms of Chinese painting. She has also supplied a Traditional Chronology of Painting, a selected bibliography and an excellent index.

Volume Two is the translation of a Manual of Painting written and illustrated by three brothers who were painters, which became the most widely used handbook in China.

The result of Miss Sze's arduous labors is a work on the spirit, tradition and technique of Chinese painting which makes possible a first step toward communion, through its art, with the spirit of one of the world's oldest and greatest peoples. It is needed; for as Elie Faure has said, when the West turns to Chinese art,

> We are confronted with a method that escapes us almost absolutely, with a point of departure that is not ours, with a movement of life that has neither the same appearance nor the same direction as ours.

The Indo-European world, Faure continues, "turns, with all its instinct, toward the future. The Chinese world, with all its consciousness, turns toward the past." Miss Sze's essay on Chinese painting perfectly illustrates the second part of Faure's distinction. It was a very ancient, traditional, symbolic art, devoted wholly to the expression of the Tao (The Way)—"the basic Chinese belief in an order and harmony in nature." The approach to painting was ritualistic, and mastery of its symbolism and technique required long study of the ancient wisdom, and long practice with the brush. This accounts for the fact that most of the great painters were also scholars and poets, and that there was a close connection between painting and the beautiful, complicated and difficult Chinese calligraphy.

Miss Sze cites Six Canons of Painting, the first of which states "the idea that *Ch'i* (the breath of Heaven, the Spirit) stirs all of nature to life . . . and that if a work has *ch'i* it inevitably reflects a vitality that is the essence of life itself." This the Western mind can grasp; for we, too, know that however differently we may define it, vitality is the first essential of a work of art. But the Chinese painter had to attain *ch'i* while mastering a hoary tradition and a formidable technique. What a test it was of his creative power one can imagine as one becomes progressively enmeshed in Miss Sze's discussion of the elaborate symbolism which governed Chinese art and life.

Unexpectedly, the Manual brings relief from this feeling of suffocation. The symbolism is there, of course, but the book's painter-authors (or the earlier authors from whom they freely borrowed) are wise and zestful; their marginal comments on the many illustrations are pithy, witty

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or poetic; and the illustrations themselves, designed to teach the styles of the Old Masters in rendering all the elements of painting, are marvelous and delightful object-lessons in the virtuosity of Chinese brushwork.

The West is impatient of tradition; that has made its art at last inchoate. China is too bound by tradition; that caused its art to deteriorate into skillful plagiarism. Yet Miss Sze remarks that the peaks of Chinese art came when outside influences, war, turbulence or extreme distress forced the spirit to "draw upon resources rooted deep in the tradition." Who knows? Out of its present extreme distress the Chinese spirit, drawing on those resources, may rise in renewed majesty when our own tradition no longer has the strength to rescue us from chaos.

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

No Thanks

Able Baker and Others, by Joseph Whitehill. 302 pp. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Co. $3.75

Able Baker, featured in the first four of ten stories by Joseph Whitehill, is as human a character as I have met in a long time. This aging, ponderous, slow-moving engineer can cope with almost anything, as those who underestimate him learn to their sorrow. He is easily the star of Mr. Whitehill's show.

Much less engaging are the characters in "Thanks Very Much, but No Thank You," the tenth and longest of the stories. Michael Stiel, the "I" of this piece, rides into town on his motorcycle to apply for a job at a government defense plant. He barely takes time to eat and think a few caustic thoughts about pacts which might "interfere with the growth process of the UN" before he goes to bed with the Kansas widow from whom he has rented a room. Next day at the defense plant he becomes irritated at governmental security regulations and indignant over being expected *not* to be a disciple of Karl Marx. Angry and contemptuous, he goes back to the rooming house where he quickly finds consolation with the Kansas widow again, and then—but no thanks, Mr. Whitehill; I prefer Able Baker. FRANCES BECK

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Modern Art and the New Past, by James Thrall Soby. 217 pp. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.75

What we continue to call "modern art" has had far too many apologists, denigrators, interlopers and miscellaneous "pundits" like Mr. Soby getting into its act. Painting, after all, is just another language. As Picasso once observed, either you read it, or you don't. The relatively small amount of "modern art" which is viable has always been legible to the relatively small number of people who read the language of painting. Others should go their way. Certainly, they do themselves no good at all by listening to the fourth-hand, "let's-all-get-acquainted" type chitchat which this collection of *Saturday Review* articles brings together.

A Swinger of Birches. A Portrait of Robert Frost, by Sidney Cox. 177 pp. N. Y. University Press. $3.75

In fairness to the Pan-academy which today owns a controlling interest in literature, the publishers should have put some sort of colored band around this book, pointing out that it is just another one of those personal digressions which all Serious Quarterlies, Quarterly Critics and Critical Readers can ignore. For without batting an eyelash, these 37 short, discursive essays on the poetry and conversation of Robert Frost keep presuming that poems are *not,* after all, just little gadgets made with words and rhythms. They even go so far as to act as though our truest poetry has always been just another way of telling the truth. Worst of all, Robert Frost, who writes the preface, seems to agree.

"Where Did You Go?" "Out" "What Did You Do?" "Nothing," by Robert Paul Smith. 125 pp. Norton. $2.95

Once upon a time, adults were adults. They regarded their offspring not as "little darlings," but—properly—as future adults, who should be trained part of the time and ignored the rest. But for the past 150 years, children have been increasingly sentimentalized, doted upon, and wondered at by their elders. And most recently, in the name of progressive enlightenment, they have been probed, pestered, and preyed upon by the most frightened and mendacious generation of parents history records. Mr. Smith, himself a father, is in reaction. He wants kids to be left alone again. But this very sensible notion has taken the form of a monstrously arch little plaint which makes one wonder if Mr. Smith's attitude isn't just as much of a self-conscious nuisance as that of the progressive parents he is rightly fed up with.

Here Is Haiti, by Ruth Danenhower Wilson. 204 pp. Philosophical Library. $3.50

In Haiti, visitors are second only to sugar in point of national income, and the cabinet includes a Secretary of State *pour le Tourisme.* Whether or not the latter urged Mrs. Wilson to publish this endorsement is unspecified; but if he did, he had better be replaced. For though Haiti is a perfect vacationland for the tourist who wants to touch the exotic without getting his fingers dirty, this handbook by a lady who can barely write English will entice no one.

I, Madame Tussaud, by Sylvia Martin. 370 pp. Harper. $3.95

Madame Tussaud was, so to speak, the Cecil Beaton of her day. There was almost no celebrity who did not pose, sooner or later, dead or alive, for her canny hands to model in wax. Before the Revolution, she was in residence at Versailles. Later, when the guillotine was hard at work, she operated in a special studio nearby, where the most illustrious heads in France were brought in dripping. In this imaginary memoir, Mrs. Martin eschews any reckoning with what must have been the true psychology of such a ghoul. Instead, she concentrates on her heroine's models, and offers a series of verbal portraits of her own. We see Voltaire and Chamfort, Franklin and David, Louis Capet and Napoleon, in glimpses as vivid and apt as the wax likenesses Madame Tussaud was molding.

(Reviewed by Robert Phelps)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A COURSE ON CAPITALISM

MAJOR L. L. B. ANGAS

ACCURATELY to describe Capitalism . . . is AUTOMATICALLY to defend it.

Although everyone speaks of the Capitalist System as though everyone else knows precisely what it is, no two capitalists or socialists will usually agree with each other even as to how this "system" should be defined. Nor do they concur as to what factors, either external or internal, cause it to break down.

The Inarticulate Right

Debates on this subject generate much heat but no light. The conservatives "know" in their bones that the socialists are wrong, but are too inarticulate or incoherent to convert them. It is because they lack a clear Capitalist Manifesto, such as our Course provides. Hence the Marxist empire sweeps the world largely at the expense of the rightists who part with at least 1/3 of their earned income, either in financing domestic socialist schemes or in paying for the East-West War.

The purpose of our 6 pamphlets on Capitalism (and Socialism) is to enlist your aid in dispelling not only the errors of the Left but also the mental confusion of the Right.

OUTLINE OF 6 PAMPHLETS

1. Capitalist Counter Attack . . . a Birds-eye view of the 30 part-truth Big Lie socialist slogans.
2. ABC of Capitalism . . . 20 conflicting definitions . . . Mechanics and Automatic Self-correctors . . . "Standard" fallacies of the Right.
3. Who and What invisibly governs Capitalism . . . and secretly controls the big corporations.
4. The ABC—and the XYZ—of initially attractive (but ultimately terroristic) Socialism.
5. The False Witness of the Leftists . . . Their Fallacies: their Pet Culprit: and equally wrong Pet Cure.
6. Risk . . . and Why Profit is Not Immoral—and Cannot Be Abolished (even in nationalized Russia).

A university student writes—"These serials are positively the best I have ever read on this subject, bar none! I majored in Economics while in college but in over two years did not learn as much as I did from your pamphlet No. 1. If only we had had something like this in college our time would have been spent to a greater utilization."

Human Events—"It is dynamite."

ARE YOU ALSO GUILTY?

Although you "know" you know this subject, you may at times be guilty of talking some of the same parrotized nonsense (of either the right or the left) of which you sometimes accuse your friends. To avoid this danger read our pamphlets and learn the 30 socialist slogans and the answers thereto, as well as the 10 standard fallacies of the Right. You will then have at the tips of your fingers and tongue, not only a withering attack on socialistic Communism (which temporarily masquerades as Liberalism), but also an accurate and articulate defense of Capitalism.

ORDER.....To Major L. L. B. Angas, Inc., Saxtons River, Vt., U.S.A.

I enclose $.....for pamphlets No. — — — — — — @ $1.

or $3 ☐ for set of six, to readers of this advt. only. (Normally $5)

Name and address .....

Money back if not satisfied.

To the Editor

Not Automatically Innocent

Thanks for James Burnham's article "The Death of Herbert Norman" [April 27]. Your paper reassures us common people. So the Emperor really has no clothes on, and people who fall or are pushed to their death when Communist connections come to light are not automatically innocent, as our peculiar Press claims. Continue the campaign for the revival of reason.

Hicksville, N.Y. M. KIMM

The Adult Mind

May I suggest that when you publish a review of any book by C. G. Jung [March 30], you find a reviewer who does not "hesitate" to call Professor Jung a psychologist? After decades of serious study of Jung's publications, I am convinced that "psychologists" of a future generation will regard Jung as the first psychologist to understand and describe the "adult mind," or rather the various types of adult mind. . . .

Washington, D.C. KATHARINE C. BRIGGS

Depth Charges

I like Mr. Schlamm's rollicking razzing of the stupid and the commonplace in the realm of entertainment and the arts, for I seem to sense deep undertones that make it playfully profound.

Elkridge, Md. SPENCER HEATH

The Middle East

As a war widow (American born) of a French journalist and editor it has been heartening to me to find such intelligent analyses and appraisals of the very complex situation [in the Middle East] which affects Europe, chiefly France, so vitally. Your viewpoint, as contrasted with most of the subsidized drivel those of us over here have had to endure during this trying period when so much is at stake, is a blessed relief.

Paris, France DOROTHY POULAIN

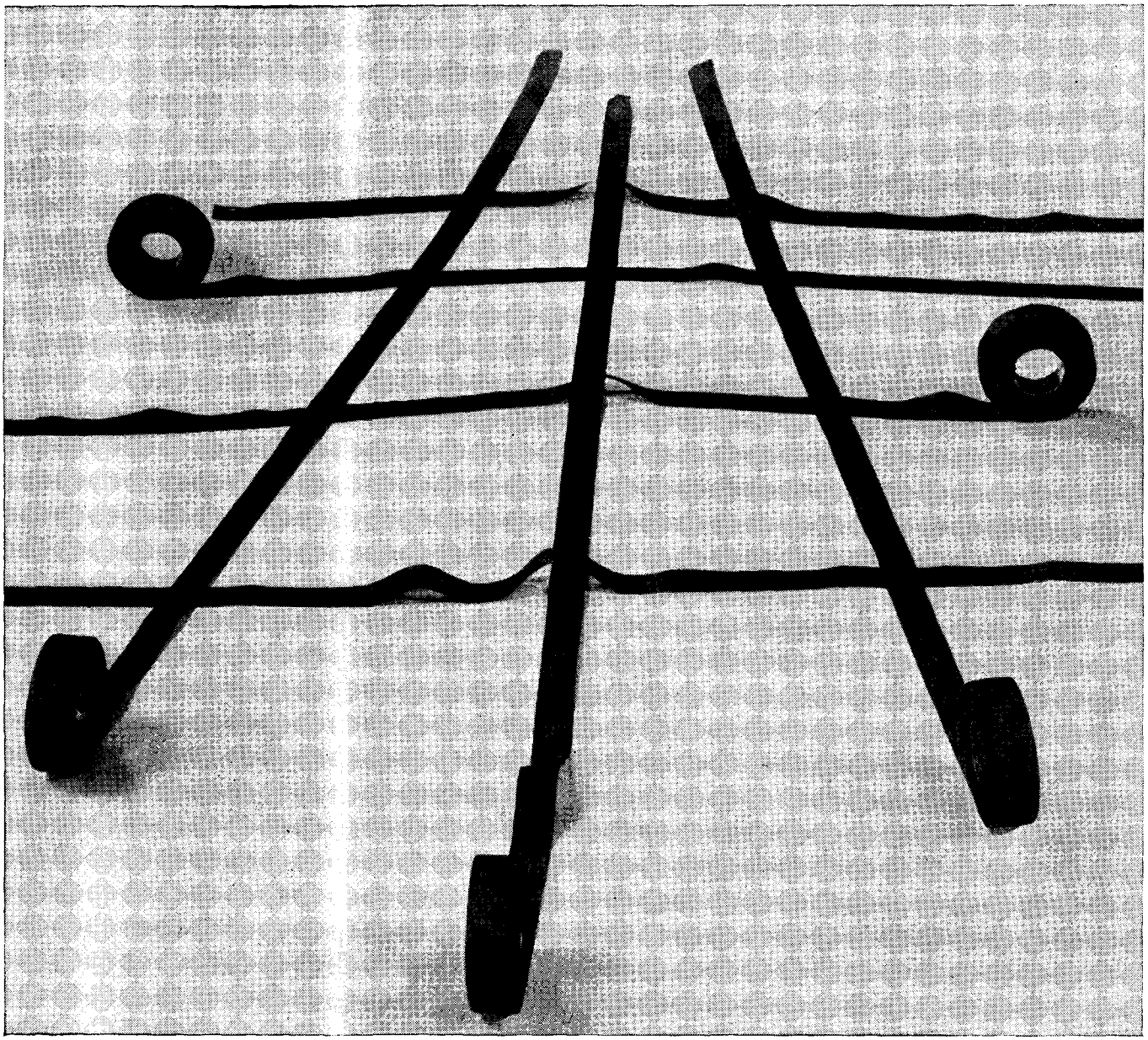
No Anomie

. . . All of us at the [St. Matthews] Cathedral were thoroughly delighted with Aloise Heath's article "Seven Keys to Anomie" [April 13].

REV. WILLIAM J. ARWALT

Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Ribbons of Roads for America that you pay for, but can't ride on

DID you ever ride on a typewriter ribbon? Of course not. Yet many of the tax dollars you pay for roads go to pay for thousands of typewriter ribbons in Washington.

And that's only a small part of the federal tax money earmarked for *local* improvements that Washington siphons off to pay for the high cost of administering the huge local aid program. More of it goes to pay for offices, typewriters, desks, swivel chairs, salaries and the like. What's worse, costly red tape tangles things up. The endless red tape that is always a by-product of big government bureaus.

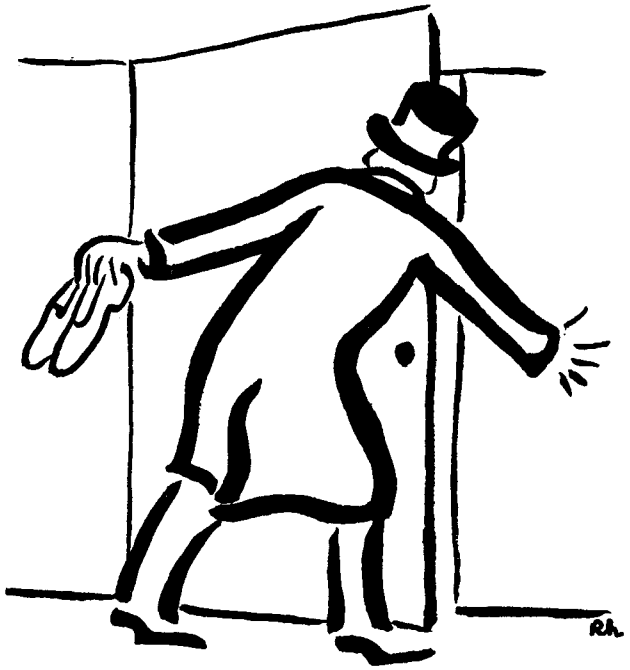
Some federal tax money is needed to pay for national defense, postal services and other legitimate federal functions. That's okay. But wouldn't it make more sense to let the communities handle their own local improvements?

It's the only way to get full value for the money we pay. It's the only way we can keep track of the money.

The Timken Roller Bearing Company

Canton 6, Ohio

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Did You Get in Late?

Better late than never—and not too late to have a look at the most exciting material published by NATIONAL REVIEW during its first year . . .

Ready Now—The National Review Reader

Here, in one volume, are the best articles, features and editorials—the ones you will want to turn back to again and again if you have been with us from the start—or the ones you missed if you began reading NATIONAL REVIEW only recently. And here, too, is the most effective way of introducing NATIONAL REVIEW to friends who have never had the pleasure . . .

NATIONAL REVIEW
211 East 37th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

ORDER FORM

PLEASE SEND THE *NATIONAL REVIEW READER* TO:

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State.....

I enclose $..... for ..... books at $5.00 each
Please bill me for $.....

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Your own name here .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED